

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 959

Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Registered as a newspaper.

November 12, 1954

FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express)
Edition: 10 cts.

YOUNG EUROPE

IN BRITAIN

Military take over "Civil" Defence CONSCRIPTS TO MAKE UP FOR LACK OF RECRUITS

BRITAIN took another step last week towards the hundred-per-cent. military state. The Civil Defence (Armed Forces) Bill went through the Committee stage.

It being therefore, in effect, all over bar the signing, the distinction between civil defence and military offence is even vaguer than before. And that is saying something.

Under the Bill, members of the armed forces, including conscripts, will be liable for compulsory CD training.

But since the armed forces will remain under the control of the Service Chiefs, and since (in spite of strenuous efforts in the House) the Home Secretary is not to be a member of the "Defence Committee," this aspect of Civil Defence organisation will pass completely out of civilian control.

Under these circumstances it is inevitable that the training, spirit, and psychology of these men will be military. Add to this the fact that the man in charge of CD now is a military man, and you get the full picture; it has become the "fourth arm of offence."

Raising this issue in the House, Emrys Hughes said:

Safest in the Army?

"There is a committee which is supposed to be called together to consider defence of this country. I thought that defence of the country meant defence of its civilians. I think it is imperative, in view of the appalling state of civilian defence, that instead of Service Ministers being the sole Ministers concerned there should be somebody there putting the case on every possible occasion of the people in the front line, the people who are to be bombed."

"I heard Lord Montgomery on television one night say that the safest place in the next war would be in the Army, but not all the civilian population can get into the Army. I do not know whether he will solve the problem by inviting all the women to go into the women's Services."

"The way the civilian population is being treated by Defence Ministers is something which the House should rectify."

Another Member had something of significance to say about the military mind and its effect on civilian life. He was Mr. George Wigg, who said earlier that he was in favour of militarising CD but recognised that there would be great difficulties about it.

Then he said:

"I, too, have seen the military machine at close quarters and I am a little frightened by the constant erosion into our civilian world of ex-military gentlemen. I am not sure that long service in the Armed Forces is an essential part of the equipment of a democrat."

"After all, we can easily fall into the frame of mind—I myself am often guilty of it on occasions—which tends to expect too instantaneous obedience, perhaps in our own families."

"Sometimes one values discussion for oneself and burks at it a little when others want it, too."

GOVERNMENT CD PROPAGANDA IS DANGEROUS—National Peace Council

"THERE is a real danger that the present vigorous campaign to strengthen the Civil Defence organisation may lead the public greatly to exaggerate the effectiveness of any CD measures which could be taken if there were an atomic attack on this small and heavily populated island."

This warning was given in a letter sent to the Press last week by the officers of the National Peace Council.

Signatories to the letter were: Reginald Sorensen, MP, Lord Darwin, Eric Baker, James Henderson and Kenneth Ingram.

The letter continued:

"The most CD could do would be to mitigate the sufferings of those on the fringes of the areas where hydrogen bombs had been dropped, such as by providing medical aid and decontamination services."

"No adequate protection against the chaotic effects of atomic attack can be offered short of the evacuation of millions of the population—with the immense problems of providing accommodation and food-supply which evacuation would require—or wholesale emigration."

"Industrialists are confronted now with the problem of dispersing their plant or alternatively of satisfying themselves that their present sites can be adequately protected."

"No government, nor indeed the country as a whole, could cope with such an undertaking,

OPPOSES MILITARISM

1. "We are all resolved not to kill"—Germans

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN COLOGNE.

LOUD cries of "No" from German schoolboys, students and young trade unionists answered the question "Are the twenty-year-olds willing to become soldiers again" at a meeting called in Cologne recently as one of a series of Wednesday discussions.

Members of the staff of Herr Blank, the government official charged with the construction of the new German army, were present to answer questions.

With many reporters and news-reel men also present, the atmosphere became electric as discussion turned to the question of the right to refuse military service.

Shouts of "We are all resolved not to kill," were met by the rejoinder from the military representative, Herr Hans Guhr:

"Only those ready to be shot rather than kill are entitled to exemption and they will have to serve in other ways."

When Count Baudissin also from the office of Herr Blank, declared that the Communists would see a sign of weakness in the West in every objection to military service, someone shouted from the floor "That is how Goebbels spoke."

A quietly spoken young man added "Jesus Christ needed no weapons," and a young chemistry student declared "We cannot find that shooting each other brings any progress to the world."

TRYING TO HEAL

"Nine years have passed, and while we are still trying to heal the wounds of war, you are going to put us into uniform," a schoolboy shouted out.

Heated discussion continued on the pavement after the meeting had closed.

FOOTNOTE: A recent poll of West German youth from fifteen to twenty-four showed that seventy-one per cent said that they would not like to be soldiers, and twenty-eight per cent said they would. However, fifty-five per cent agreed that military conscription held out for them the best hope of an education.

Tribunal Salaries in Britain

THE Ministry of Labour last week gave details of salaries and fees paid by his Department for appointments outside the Civil Service.

Included among these were the following:
Local tribunals (conscientious objectors):
Seven chairmen: £12 12s. per day
28 members: £4 4s. per day

Appellate tribunals (conscientious objectors):
Three chairmen: £14 14s. per day
Six members: £5 5s. per day

The London Tribunal is sitting weekly until Christmas to deal with the increasing numbers refusing military service.

and we are thus forced to the conclusion that Civil Defence at best could offer only slight alleviation; it could not prevent the devastating consequences of such a war.

"We feel it necessary to emphasise these grim facts since we detect a tendency in CD propaganda to produce a false complacency in the public mind. Some people are already being persuaded that an atomic war can be made less catastrophic than they had previously supposed."

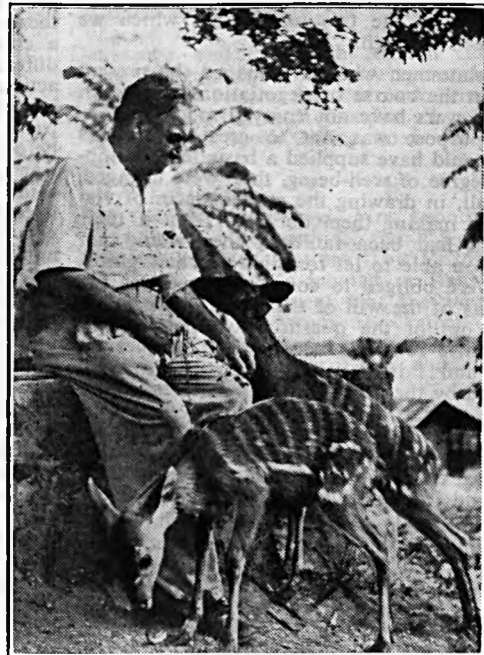
"This propaganda is promoting, on the one hand, an assumption that war is to be regarded as a normal occurrence and accordingly more or less inevitable; and, on the other hand, the assumption that an efficient CD organisation will act as a deterrent to the plans of a potential aggressor. We consider all these assumptions to be unwarrantable."

Civil Defence has been made compulsory in Norway, with no provision for conscientious objection.

Dr. ALBERT SCHWEITZER

on

The Problem of Peace



Nobel Peace Prize Lecture

FULL TEXT - Pages 2 & 3

2. Norway's war resisters to Schweitzer—"We follow you"

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN OSLO

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER, 1954 Nobel Peace Prize winner, was presented with a silver plaque on behalf of 500 Norwegian conscientious objectors to military service at a meeting in Oslo last week.

Said a spokesman for the conscientious objectors, Mr. Elling Tjonneland, addressing Dr. Schweitzer:

"The COs doing alternative service wish to present you with this as a token of their

appreciation for all that you stand for, it means much to them."

"These young men seek to underline through their deeds what you yourself have expressed in your book 'Culture and Ethics.'"

A volunteer peace army

"If they bear the name 'conscientious objectors' they still wish to say 'yes' to service against evil, a service to which you have devoted yourself for the last 40 years."

Referring to an appeal to the United Nations made last year to recognise the rights of conscientious objectors in all countries, Mr. Tjonneland said:

"If that is successful, then as the next step we could establish a growing international army of constructive peace volunteers to carry on your pioneer work."

A translation of the inscription on the plaque reads: "Norwegian conscientious objectors, doing alternative service, express their deep admiration for your service in the cause of peace and greet you in gratitude."

"Devil's Island" for Kikuyu prisoners

THE COLONIAL OFFICE intends to establish a prison for Mau Mau captives on an island in Lake Victoria.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, stated in the House of Commons that Mageta Island is contemplated for this purpose. He said clearing would be carried out to eradicate tsetse fly, the cause of sleeping-sickness.

It was too early, he said, to give any precise numbers of the prisoners who would be interned there.

Portugal's "prison" island

In a recent article in the New Statesman, Basil Davidson described conditions on Sao Thome, a "prison" island under Portuguese rule some 200 miles off the coast of French Equatorial Africa.

"Sao Thome's principal interest for the mainland today was revealed in a conversation I had with the head of the department of Native affairs for Angola, Senhor Francisco de Alcambar Pereira, who said: 'We only send political prisoners there; not many either. Why, since I came here I've not been sending more than perhaps five a month.' They were the 'worst' ones—those with 'strong' political opinions—'Otherwise we send people we don't like to isolated settlements on the coast south of Mocimedes' mainly, in fact, to the half desert villages on the Baia des Tigres, near the empty frontier of South-West Africa."

□ ON BACK PAGE

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE

Dr. Albert Schweitzer's Nobel Peace Prize Lecture

The following translation from the French of the full text of the lecture has been supplied to Peace News by the Norwegian Embassy in London.

The speech was briefly reported in some British newspapers—generously in the Sunday Times—but not in the Daily Herald, Daily Mirror, Express or Sketch.

AS the subject of the lecture—a formidable honour which the award of the Nobel Prize requires me to discharge—I have chosen the problem of peace as it appears today.

I think that in this way I act in the spirit of the founder of the Prize, who himself was preoccupied with that problem, as it existed in his time, and who expected that its foundation would sustain reflection and study with regard to the possibilities of serving the cause of peace.

I take as the starting point for my remarks a review of the situation as it appears at the conclusion of the two world wars which we have been through.

The statesmen who have shaped the present world in the course of negotiations after each of these wars have not enjoyed much success. Their purpose was not to create situations which could have supplied a basis for developing a degree of well-being, they were engaged, above all, in drawing the consequences of victory and making them durable. Even if their foresight had been faultless, they would not have been able to let foresight be their guide. They were obliged to consider themselves the executors of the will of the victorious peoples. It was out of the question for them to try to organise relations between the peoples on a just and fair basis; all their efforts were absorbed by the need to prevent the realisation of the worst demands of the victorious peoples; also they had to ensure that the victors among themselves made the indispensable reciprocal concessions in questions where their views and interests were at variance.

The untenable factors in the present situation—which is beginning to make the victors as well as the vanquished suffer—have their true origin in the fact that insufficient consideration has been given to reality as determined by historical facts and, consequently, to what is just and reasonable.

The historical problem of Europe is conditioned by the fact that in the course of past centuries, especially at the time of the great migrations, peoples coming from the East penetrated ever further into the West and South-West and took possession of the land. In this way recent immigrants joined peoples who had immigrated much earlier.

In the course of centuries, these peoples were partly integrated. New state organisations, of a relatively homogeneous kind were formed within new boundaries. In Western and Central Europe this evolution resulted in a situation which in its general outline can be considered final, a process which terminated in the course of the 19th century.

In the East and the South-East, however, the process did not develop so far. It remained at a stage of co-existence of peoples, without actual fusion. Each of them could, to a certain degree, claim a right to the land. One people could claim that they were the oldest occupants of the land or the most numerous, whilst the others could point to their achievements in developing the land. The only practical solution would have been that the two elements agreed to live together on the same territory in a common state organisation, according to a compromise acceptable to both parties. Such a state of affairs should have been reached, however, before the second third of the 19th century. From that time on, national consciousness developed more and more strongly and led to grave consequences. That development no longer allowed people to be guided by historical realities and reason.

Thus the first world war has its origins in the conditions which prevailed in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The new organisation, created between the two wars, contained in its turn the seeds of a future war.

Seeds of conflict are inherent in any new organisation which follows a war, and which neither takes into account the historical facts nor aims at a just and objective solution of the problems according to those facts. Only a solution on such lines can guarantee a durable settlement.

Historical reality is trampled underfoot if, in a case where two peoples have rival historical claims to the same country, the rights of one party only are recognised. The claims which two peoples can put forward for the possession of the same territory in the contested parts of Europe have always a relative validity only. Both peoples are, in fact, immigrants from historical times.

In the same way, one would be guilty of contempt for historical facts if, in establishing a new situation and drawing up boundaries, the economic realities are ignored. This kind of mistake is made if a frontier is drawn so as to cut off a port from its natural hinterland or to erect a barrier between a region where raw materials are produced and another which is particularly well suited and equipped for processing them. Such a procedure creates states which are not economically viable.

The most flagrant violation of historical and human rights consists of depriving certain peoples of their rights to the land on which they live, so that they are forced to move elsewhere. The victorious powers, at the end of the second world war, decided to impose such a fate on hundreds of thousands of people, and that under the most difficult conditions. This fact enables us to understand how little these powers were conscious of their task of proceeding to a reorganisation which would be reasonably just and which would guarantee a prosperous future.

The situation we are in after the second world war is characterised chiefly by the fact that no peace treaty has been concluded. Only by agreements more in the nature of truces was the war brought to an end, and it is exactly because we are incapable of a reorganisation that it is at all satisfactory that we have to content ourselves with these truces, which have been concluded solely because of

the needs of the moment, and the future of which nobody can foresee.

★
THAT is the situation in which we find ourselves. And now, in what terms does the problem of peace pose itself today? In a completely new way, in that war today is different from war in the past. It brings into action instruments of death and destruction incomparably more effective than those in the past. It is consequently a greater evil than ever before. In the past, it was possible to consider war as an evil which had to be accepted because it served progress, because it even was necessary. It was possible to subscribe to the view that thanks to war the most meritorious nations triumphed over the others and so determined the course of history.

For example, the victory of Cyrus over the Babylonians created an empire in the Near East with a civilisation superior to the preceding one, and the victory of Alexander the Great, in his turn, opened the Nile as far as the Indus to Greek civilisation. But sometimes, too, a war resulted in the overthrow of a high civilisation by an inferior one, as for instance when the Arabs, in the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries subjugated Persia, Asia Minor, Palestine, North Africa, and Spain, countries where previously the Greek-Roman civilisation had prevailed.

It seems, therefore, that wars in the past could serve as well as destroy progress. It is with much less firm conviction that one can claim that modern war serves the cause of progress. The evil which it represents weighs much more heavily than in the past.

It is worth recalling that the generation before 1914 saw the enormous development of the means of war as a favourable factor. It was deduced that a settlement would be reached much more quickly than before and that very short wars could be expected. This view was accepted without contradiction.

It was also believed that the evils caused by war could be relatively unimportant in future, because there would be a progressive humanisation of the methods employed. This belief was based on the obligations assumed by the nations under the Geneva Convention of 1864 as a result of the efforts of the Red Cross. They guaranteed mutual care of the wounded and humane treatment of prisoners of war, as well as generous treatment of civilians. This convention did in fact produce considerable results which profited hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians in subsequent wars. But compared with the misfortunes of war, so amply afforded by modern instruments of death and destruction, the benefits have been slight. Truly, it cannot be a question of humanising war.

The theory of the short war, together with the humanisation of its methods, meant that when war became a reality in 1914 it was not taken as seriously as it deserved. It was regarded as a storm which would cleanse the political atmosphere, as an event which put an end to the armaments race which was ruining the nations.

While certain people, with a light heart, approved of the war because of the profits they expected, others expressed a more idealistic view, that this war would undoubtedly be the last. Many a hero set off in the conviction that he was going to fight for a future without wars.

In this war, as well as in the war of 1939, those two theories proved themselves completely wrong. Fighting and destruction lasted for years and were carried out in the most inhuman way. In contrast to the war of 1870, the encounter was not just between two isolated nations, but between two great groups of countries, and consequently a large part of humanity became the victim and the suffering was correspondingly greater.

Now that we know what a terrible evil war is, we should neglect no effort to prevent it happening again. In addition there is the moral factor. In the course of the last two wars, we have been guilty of inhuman acts which make us shudder, and in a future war we would commit even worse acts. That must not happen!

Let us face the facts frankly. Man has become a superman.

He is a superman because he not only possesses his innate physical forces, but because, thanks to the conquests of science and technique, he commands also the latent forces of nature and makes them work for him. In order to kill at a distance, man by himself had only his own physical strength. With this strength he could tauten the bow and, by releasing it, send off an arrow.

The superman has reached the stage when, thanks to a device invented for that purpose, he can use the energy released by the combustion of a particular chemical mixture. Thus he is able to use a much more effective projectile and shoot it much farther.

But the superman suffers from a baleful defect of spirit. He has not raised himself to the level of superhuman reason which should correspond to the possession of superhuman powers. He would need it in order to put this enormous power solely at the disposal of reasonable and useful ends, instead of destructive and murderous ones. For this reason, the conquests of science and technique have brought him misfortune instead of profit.

In that connection it is significant perhaps that the first great discovery—the force resulting from the combustion of powder—was used

first of all solely as a means of killing at a distance.

The conquest of the air, thanks to the internal combustion engine, marks a decisive stage in the progress of humanity. Men immediately seized the opportunity which this offered to kill and destroy from the air. This invention has made evident a consequence which previously one refused to recognise: superman, as his powers increase also becomes poorer. So as not to expose himself completely to destruction hurled from above, he is forced to burrow underground, just like the animals. At the same time, he is forced to witness an unprecedented destruction of cultural values.

The next stage was the discovery of the enormous forces liberated by the disintegration of the atom, and the utilisation of those forces. After some time, one had to recognise that the destructive capacity of a bomb charged with a force of that kind was incalculable, and that experiments on a big scale could cause catastrophes threatening the very existence of humanity. It is only now that all the horror of our existence is revealed to us. We can no longer evade the question of the future of humanity.

But the essential fact which our conscience has to recognise, and which we should have recognised long ago, is that we have become inhuman in the same degree that we have become supermen. In the course of wars we have accepted that men have been killed en masse—about twenty million in the second world war—that whole towns with their inhabitants have been obliterated by the atomic bomb, that men have been made living torches by incendiary bombs. We were told this by the radio or the newspapers, and we judged these facts all according to whether they represented a success for our group of nations or for our enemies. When we admitted to ourselves that these things were the results of inhuman acts, that admission was accompanied by the reflection that the nature of war condemned us to accept them. In resigning ourselves without resistance to our fate, we make ourselves guilty of inhumanity.

What matters is for all of us to recognise that we are guilty of inhumanity. The horror of this experience must arouse us from our stupor, so that we direct our will and our hope towards the coming of an era in which there will be no more war.

This will and this hope can have only one single aim: to attain, in a new spirit, that superior reason which will prevent us from using the forces at our disposal for evil.

The first who had the courage to put forward a purely ethical argument for combatting war and to demand a superior reason determined by an ethical will, was the great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam in his "Querela Pacis" (The Lamentation of Peace) which appeared in 1517. There he shows Peace in search of a public.

Erasmus found few followers in this field. It was considered utopian to expect that the affirmation of an ethical need would further the cause of peace. Kant was of that view. In his "Of Perpetual Peace", which appeared in 1795, and in other published works in which he alludes to the problem of peace, he expresses the belief that its realisation will be achieved solely through the increasing authority of international law, by which an international arbitration court would settle conflicts between nations. According to him, that authority must be built exclusively on the growing respect for law which men, in the course of time, for purely practical motives, will acquire. Kant emphasises repeatedly the idea that one must not advance ethical reasons in favour of the idea of a society of nations, but that it must be considered as the culmination of a law which is constantly being perfected. He thought that perfection would be achieved in the natural course of progress. In his opinion, "Nature, that great artist" will bring men, very gradually it is true, and after a very long time, in the course of history and after miserable wars, to agree on an international law guaranteeing perpetual peace.

The scheme for a society of nations with powers of arbitration was first formulated in some detail by Sully, friend and minister of Henry IV. It was examined in detail by the Abbe Castel de Saint-Pierre, in three publications, of which the most important is entitled: "Proposal for Perpetual Peace among Christian Sovereigns". It is probably from an extract which Rousseau published in 1761 that Kant became acquainted with the opinions which he proceeded to elaborate.

Today we have the experience of the League of Nations in Geneva and the United Nations to help us to estimate the effectiveness of international organisations. They can be of considerable service in offering mediation in the initial stages of conflicts, and in taking the initiative in starting international enterprises and other acts of this kind, according to circumstances. One of the most important achievements of the League of Nations was the creation in 1922 of an international passport for persons who lost their nationality as a result of war. What would have been the position of such people if on Nansen's initiative the League had not created these passports? What would have been the position of the displaced persons after 1945 if the United Nations had not existed?

These two organisations have not, however, succeeded in bringing about a state of peace. Their efforts were condemned to failure, be-

cause they were obliged to function in a world where no spirit for peace prevailed, and because they were merely legal institutions, they were unable to create that spirit. Only the ethical spirit has that power. Kant was wrong when he thought that he could dispense with this spirit in his peace project. We must follow the path which he refused to take.

What is more, we no longer have that great amount of time which Kant relied on for achieving peace. The wars of today are wars of annihilation; those which he foresaw were not. The decisive steps for peace must be taken and decisive results achieved with the least delay. Of this too, only the spirit is capable.

★
CAN the spirit do effectively what we in our great need must ask it to do?

We must not underestimate its power. For it is the spirit which is manifest throughout the history of humanity. It is the spirit which has created that humanitarianism which is the origin of all progress towards a superior form of existence. Animated by humanitarianism, we are true to ourselves and capable of creation. Animated by the opposite spirit, we are untrue to ourselves and fall prey to every error.

The power which this spirit was able to exercise was shown in the 17th and 18th centuries. It brought the peoples of Europe, where it manifested itself, out of the Middle Ages by putting an end to superstition, witch trials, torture and many other cruelties and such traditional follies. In place of the old it established the new, causing never-ending wonder in those who witnessed the change. All that we have ever possessed of true and personal civilisation, and which we possess still, has its origin in that manifestation of spirit.

Later it has lost its power, mainly because it has failed to find a foundation for its ethical character in that practical knowledge which resulted from scientific research. It was succeeded by a spirit which failed to see clearly the way humanity was proceeding and which lacked the same high ideals. It is to the spirit we must now devote ourselves afresh if we do not want to perish. A new miracle must be wrought, similar to the one which brought the peoples of Europe out of the Middle Ages—a miracle greater than the first.

The spirit is not dead; it lives in solitude. It has surmounted the difficult duty of living without a practical knowledge to match its ethical character. It has understood that it must base itself on nothing except the essential nature of man. The independence which it has acquired in relation to knowledge has proved to be a gain.

It is convinced that compassion, in which ethics have their roots, can only achieve full scope and depth if it is not limited to men but is extended to all living things. Alongside the old ethics, which lacked this depth and force of conviction, have come the ethics of respect for life, and this has become increasingly recognised as valid.

We venture to address ourselves again to the whole man, to his faculty of thought and of feeling, to exhort him to know himself and to be true to himself. Again we want to put our trust in the profound qualities of his nature. Our experiences confirm us in this enterprise.

In 1950, a book appeared entitled "Documents of Humanity," edited by the professors of the University of Goettingen, who had been among the victims of the horrible mass expulsion of East Germans in 1945. The refugees described in very simple terms the help they had received in their distress from persons belonging to the enemy nations, and who, in consequence, should have been moved by hate. I have seldom been so stirred by a book as I was by this. It is capable of restoring faith in humanity to those who have lost it.

Whether peace comes or not, depends on the direction in which the mentality of individuals and therefore also of nations develops. In our age, this truth is even more valid than in the past. Erasmus, Sully, the Abbe Castel de Saint-Pierre and the others who, in their time, concerned themselves with the coming of peace, did not have to deal with peoples but with princes. Their efforts were directed towards persuading them to establish a supra-national authority possessing powers of arbitration for smoothing out difficulties which might arise among them. Kant, in his "Perpetual Peace" was the first to envisage an age where the peoples would govern themselves and, being sovereign, would have to concern themselves with the problem of peace. This development he considered to be a progressive one. In his opinion, the peoples, more than the princes, would be disposed in favour of peace, because they were the ones who suffer all the misfortunes of war.

The time has come when governments must consider themselves the executors of the popular will. But Kant's opinion about the people's innate love of peace has not been proved. In so far as it is the will of the great mass, the popular will has not avoided the danger of instability and the risk of being diverted by passion from the path of true reason; nor does it possess the necessary feeling of responsibility. A nationalism of the worst kind has revealed itself in the course of these two wars, and at present it can be considered as the greatest obstacle to the understanding now incipient among the peoples.

This nationalism can be counteracted only by the rebirth of a humanitarian ideal among men, making their affiliation to their country natural and inspired by a genuine ideal.

False nationalism is also seething in the countries overseas, in particular among the peoples formerly under white rule and who have recently achieved independence. They run the danger that nationalism will become

★ On page three

EGYPT'S FEMINIST LEADER, AND
EIRE'S PREMIER BOTH SAY IT—

Violence is no longer the way

"VIOLENCE is no longer the way. Pacifism is the weapon now."

These are the words of one of the world's leading fighters for women's rights, Madame Doria Shafik, 35-year-old Egyptian Doctor of Philosophy.

Once she stormed the Egyptian Parliament with 1,000 women. But now she has turned to other methods. Last March she undertook a fast to persuade the Government to incorporate women's rights in the new Egyptian Constitution. She is now on a world tour explaining the position of women in Egypt.

"The violent approach was, perhaps, right at the time," she said in London recently, "but now we shall have political, besides economic and social equality. Our task now is to have women in Parliament and to ensure that each law operates fairly and equally for women as well as men."

"When men make the laws, sometimes they are not right for women. Many of our women work too hard at present. So there is much to do. I shall remain a fighter, probably all my life, but now a peaceful one."

"No solution through force"—Irish Premier

Referring to the recent armed raids on barracks in Northern Ireland by members of the IRA (Irish Republican Army), Mr. Costello, Prime Minister of Eire, said in the Dail last week that such methods could not bring about a satisfactory unification of the country.

In considering the use of methods of violence as a means of solving their own national problems, it was proper, said Mr. Costello, that Eire, as a Christian nation, should take serious thought and warning from the condition to which the world had been reduced as a consequence of the use of force and the dread of force.

In a world where nations and people were stricken with the frightful consequences of recent wars, and where all nations and people were appalled by terrifying visions of widespread destruction and human misery that might be brought about by acts of violence, and the use of instruments of almost unimaginable potency, there was an ever-growing conviction that it was only by a return and resort to the principles of Christianity that mankind might be saved from a dreadful holocaust.

Small as Eire was, it had a strength beyond its mere physical size, derived from its vast, spiritual empire, and it was from that strength that she, as a Christian nation, could make her contribution to world peace.

If she employed or tolerated methods of violence in the solution of her own problems while she condemned as pagan other nations that resorted to them, she would be guilty of a nauseous and pharisaical hypocrisy "which would surely turn the judgment against us."

Mentioned again in the House!

"I have spoken to people in that area (Clydebank) and I know that they are gravely disquieted by what the Government seem prepared to do for the defence of the population, particularly when they hear of figures such as those I will quote from a little book published by one of my hon. Friends who is held in the highest esteem for his integrity and his devotion to the cause which he serves. It is called 'Bomb over Britain'."

—Mr. Cyril Bence (Dumbartonshire, East), House of Commons, October 28, 1954.

*By Emrys Hughes, MP, Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. Price 1s.

"IN SPIRIT"

We had a very happy and successful Anniversary Gathering on October 30, although we wished that more members and friends could have been present, including many of you who read this appeal.

Trefor Davies (the Vice-Chairman of National Council) allows me to quote a true story which he told in the course of his appeal for a good collection.

A Welsh Minister, on meeting one of his congregation, referred to the fact that he had missed her from the evening service on the previous Sunday. The lady explained that she had been sorry not to be there and added "But my spirit was with you", to which the Minister replied "But did your spirit put anything in the collection?"

Some of those unable to be present on October 30 have already sent in contributions to Headquarters Fund in memory of Dick Sheppard and for the continuation of the work which he began. I am sure that all readers of Peace News would have liked to join us in our commemoration and were with us in spirit that evening. But, as the Minister said...

Need I say more, except that if the spirit is willing, I hope the flesh will not be too weak to enable you to send the cheque, postal order or stamps which we eagerly anticipate?

STUART MORRIS
General Secretary

Amount received to date: £596
Our aim for the year: £1,000

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.



A LETTER TO MIAKO KUBOYAMA

MY DEAR MIAKO: You are grieving for your father, I well know. And you are hurt and angry at the United States, as are so many of your countrymen. For the deadly ash that fell on the "Lucky Dragon" in March, from the hydrogen bomb test, must seem an unnecessarily bitter fate. Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and now this. Why must it be Japan that always suffers from the atom?

You are only nine, Miako, and still a small girl, but when you grow up, there are things I would like you to understand. I don't write patronisingly to you as a child. Millions of us, whatever our age or nationality, are very immature, and we are often led by men not yet full-grown—men who perceive but dimly that the only world of safety is a world of brotherhood. No one meant to harm your father; the men who exploded the H-bomb and underestimated its reach were moved by fear. They were afraid men in another country, who dominate the minds of their own people by force, might get the H-bomb alone, then threaten those in other lands whose ideas they, too, fear. Strange, though, isn't it? When the last war ended, your people were willing to risk the way of disarmament and peace, but our country wouldn't let them. For this we ask, particularly, your forbearance.

One thing you know already: that some men, in all countries, are different from other men. Big-minded men, when they have even unintentionally done a wrong, admit it freely. Lesser men try to evade responsibility. This will explain why some US newspaper reporters in Japan, when they saw what had happened

to your father, tried to make light of it, saying he probably would not die—as if his suffering did not matter. And why some others, when they saw the natural alarm of your people over radioactive fish, made of it a joke. Or why so many US papers and commentators (though happily not all) spoke up like so many hired propagandists, attempting to show your father did not die from his experience last March, but from some newer causes. Truly, Miako, most Americans are not like these.

When they know the truth, most Americans are sound and kind. But so nationalistic was our Press that when our doctors were barred from the fishermen, the papers had to discredit yours, though many of us know your physi-



DEVERE ALLEN

This open letter to the daughter of the Japanese fisherman who died as a result of the H-bomb test last March, is appearing in the American Press. It was written by Devere Allen, Editor of the Worldover Press News Service.

cians are ethical and skilled. It would not have been impossible to get detailed medical reports from your experts; the British paper, PEACE NEWS, did so. Thus a few of us knew that the worst cases had suffered a drop in white blood cells from 6,000 to 1,000 and in blood platelets from 200,000 to 10,000, with damaged bone marrow and dangerous mortification. Even if some other factor hastened your father to his grave, could that alter the basic reason? Truly, Miako, not all of us are hit-and-run Americans.

Have you not known children who behaved badly, sometimes cruelly, and afterwards smirked or even laughed? When you are older, you will understand that if one has a serious sense of guilt, an easy way to cover it up is by derisive laughter. This can temporarily bolster one's feeling of superiority; it cannot cleanse the heart. One thing alone can give such people a healing knowledge of shame: forgiveness by the victim. Can you forgive us? Can you, your grandmother, and your mother Suzu? Can you forgive our government, which was late even in offering regret, late and niggardly in its financial recompense?

Your sacrifice, Miako, may have taught us something. That in another all-out war the newer weapons will often be beyond control. That the H-bomb only deters, on either side, as it creates a mutual fear; and fear will not abate until both sides disarm. That this can never happen until the prisoners of fear cry out to their "protectors"—as did the poet of ancient India—"O slayer of demons, let me go..." And so, Miako, count me as your friend, in fellowship.

DEVERE ALLEN, Worldover Press.

NEUTRAL NATIONS A POWER FOR PEACE

By Olwen Battersby

THE more extensive the blocks of neutral nations, the greater the chance that the peace of the world may be saved said Stuart Morris, speaking on the Third Camp at Hampstead recently. He was considering not solely neutrality in regard to the Cold War: there was in addition the danger that a "colour war" or a "war of have against have-not nations" might engulf the world.

Neutralist sentiment had grown spontaneously in many parts of the world; it showed itself in the attitude of governments, political parties, and individuals.

Switzerland, India and Sweden had declared firmly for a policy of neutrality. The entry of the Arab-Asian group to the United Nations meant that for the first time a neutral block, whose voting was uncertain, could mediate within the United Nations itself.

In Europe a recent pronouncement of the Pope, officially interpreted in Italy as meaning that the Vatican had revised its position and would no longer be identified with either bloc, would have a profound effect. Neutralist sentiment was largely responsible for the French defeat of EDC, and for the German trade union opposition to rearmament. In Holland where the first European Third Camp conference would be held at the end of this year and in America and Great Britain there were active Third Camp movements.

If we looked further afield we found that several socialist parties—such for example as the Socialist Party of the Lebanon—and several colonial territories, as for example the Gold Coast, had declared that on attaining power they would follow the lead of Prime Minister Nehru, and remain free from involvement. China, also had a Third Camp movement.

But to declare neutrality was not enough: a system must be evolved from which the seeds of war had been removed, giving greater freedom and fullness of life for the individual. Only as the peaceful order of society, and liberation from armaments expenditure were achieved, could we tackle the problems of hunger, poverty and disease.

Dr. Schweitzer

their only ideal. Consequently, in several places, the peace which has existed up to now is endangered.

These peoples also will only be able to overcome their naive nationalism through a humanitarian ideal. But how is this change to come about? Only when the spirit again is strong in us and we revert to a civilisation based on humanitarian ideals will it react, through our intermediary, upon these peoples. Everybody, even the semi-civilised and the primitive, are able, insofar as they are equipped with the faculty of compassion, to develop a humanitarian spirit. It exists within them like an inflammable substance which only awaits to be ignited in order to break out into flame.

A number of nations who have achieved a certain level of civilisation have already come to see that peace must reign one day. In Palestine it was demonstrated for the first time by the prophet Amos in the eighth century BC and it survives in the Jewish and Christian religions in the hope of a Kingdom of God. It is an element in the doctrine taught by the great thinkers of China: Confucius and Lao Tse in the sixth century BC and Mi Tse in the fifth and Meng Tse in the fourth. It was found again in Tolstoy and other contemporary European thinkers. We were pleased to consider it a Utopia. But today the situation is such that it must become a reality again in one form or another: otherwise humanity will perish.

I KNOW quite well that when I speak on the subject of peace, I do not contribute anything that is essentially new. My profound conviction is that the solution consists in our

rejecting war for an ethical reason, because it makes us capable of inhuman crimes. Erasmus of Rotterdam, and several others after him, proclaimed this as the truth which must be followed.

The only originality which I claim for myself is that in me this truth is accompanied by the certainty, born of thought, that the spirit is, in our age, capable of creating a new mentality, an ethical mentality. Inspired by such a conviction I proclaim this truth, in the hope that my testimony can contribute to the recognition that it has validity not only in words but in practice. More than one truth has remained totally or for a long time without effect simply because nobody envisaged that it could become a reality.

It is only in the degree that a peace ideal takes birth among the peoples that the institutions created for maintaining this peace can accomplish their mission in the way that we expect and hope.

Once more, we live in an age marked by the absence of peace: once more the nations feel themselves menaced by others: once more we must concede to everybody the right to defend themselves with the terrible weapons now available.

It is in such a contingency that we must keep a watch for the first sign of that manifestation of spirit in which we must place our faith.

This sign cannot be anything but the beginning of an endeavour on the part of the nations to repair, to the extent possible, the wrongs which they have inflicted on each other in the course of the last war. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners and deported persons await the chance to return at last to

November 12, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

TOLD BRIEFLY

Scots to Africans: "With you in your struggle"

"WE hope that your people will follow the path of non-violence and truth in their struggle for achieving their rights, and worthy and equal place in the Comity of Nations of the world and thus be instrumental in the establishment of human brotherhood and world peace."

This is part of a message to the people of Africa, assuring them of support in their endeavours for emancipation, sent by a Scottish peace group, The Friends of India, Dundee.

Copies have gone to the African National Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, who are sponsoring the Congress of People for the endorsement of a Charter of Human Rights for all people in the Union of South Africa, to be held next year.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, announced on October 27 that "Kenya the History of Two Nations" by Dr. Richard K. P. Pankhurst is banned in Kenya. He declared in Parliament that the book was held by the Governor in Council to be "contrary to the public interest." The book has a foreword by Mrs. Laski, widow of the famous Professor Laski of London University.

Buying a book of carols can help to relieve suffering in Korea. The New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee has received a large quantity of carol books from the Co-operative Recreation Service. Proceeds from the sale of the books will be used for relief work amongst the victims of the Korean war. The books are 20 cents a copy from AFSC, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass., USA.

"Meals for millions"

MEALS for Millions Foundation is the name of an American organisation which handles the distribution of "Multi-Purpose Food," an all-vegetable 3-cent meal.

These meals are being used as a weapon in the war on want in India and other countries. They may also be obtained by Americans who wish to eat more simply yet nutritiously and use the money they save for free distribution of Meals for Millions overseas.

Rates, recipes and other information can be obtained from Meals for Millions Foundation, 648 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 14, California, USA.

Marian Anderson, the great Negro singer, is to appear this year at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. She is the first Negro to do so.

Three thousand Africans demonstrated for self-government in the streets of Kampala, capital of Uganda, recently. The demonstration, organised by the Uganda National Congress, was in response to a suggestion by Mr. Morgan Phillips, secretary of the British Labour Party, that a "freedom day" should be held by dependent peoples throughout the world.

A London member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Miss Ruby Paterson, 32 Store St., W.C.1. is compiling a list of people who are prepared to offer accommodation for non-European visitors and immigrants in Britain. She would be grateful for names and addresses of persons willing to help. Christmas hospitality for overseas guests in Britain is another of her concerns. Families able to offer hospitality to one or more of the friends who come to FoR international parties are asked to contact her.

* From page two

their homes; others, condemned unjustly by a foreign power, await their acquittal: and there are many other injustices which still have to be righted.

In the name of all who work for peace, I beg the nations to take the first step on this new way. None of them will, by doing this, lose a shred of the power necessary for their self defence.

If in this way we undertake the liquidation of the last war, some degree of confidence will be established among the nations. In all undertakings, confidence is the great asset without which nothing useful can be achieved. It creates in all fields the necessary conditions for fruitful expansion. In the atmosphere of confidence thus created, we should be able to undertake a just settlement of the problems created by the two wars.

I believe that I have expressed here the thoughts and hopes of millions of people who, in our part of the world, live in fear of future war. If my words penetrate to those who live in the same fear on the other side of the curtain, may they be understood in the sense intended.

May the men who hold in their hands the destiny of the peoples scrupulously avoid anything that can aggravate the present situation and make it even more dangerous. And may they take to heart the words of the Apostle Paul: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men". These words apply not only to individuals, but also to nations. May they, in their efforts to maintain peace, go to the farthest limits of the possible, so that the spirit has time to develop and realise itself.

William MacLellan, whose "Letter from Moscow" appeared in Peace News on October 29, replies to our leading article "The Importance of Liberty" which appeared on the same day.

The relativity of freedom

YOUR Editorial has pin-pointed the fresh attitude to freedom and the technique of opposing freedom which was implicit in my remarks about the Soviet Union, but which could not be expanded in the space and context.

I suggest that there is a great need in the pacifist movement to go more thoroughly into the meaning of such principles fundamental to the doctrine of non-violence.

All the millions who have suffered through the wars of the past yearned for the abolishment of war, but were always powerless in the grip of the new fear that necessitated the next war.

It seems that we have reached the end of that cycle. The fear of the instrument of war now exceeds the terror any enemy can set up in our hearts. That is why I "quietly set aside," as you so nicely put it, obsolete concepts such as freedom (as well as pacifism, Christianity, democracy, and all other ambiguous and misunderstood words) and think anew.

Living, after all, for all of us is a series of moments in relationship, and I do not think it minimises the value of freedom to realise that it is always relative and never absolute this side of the grave. Our relationship with one another, the quality of our response is surely the salient matter with which all peace-loving people are concerned in their daily witness, and I can say without fear of contradiction that the set of values relative to individual freedom which we saw actually being practised in the Soviet Union had a moral integrity really rare to find in the West, where we still pay lip-service to all the cant and flapping about God Almighty and the Lord Jesus that masquerades as religion and completely fails to express twentieth-century moral and spiritual values in a language understood by the great mass of the people.

If one is honest one cannot but be iconoclastic coming back to the West from the East. They have cleared away so much of the sheer humbug and wrong-headedness that impedes our progress toward the fuller life that our technocracy has made possible for us. The Soviets with an amused smile tell you they have made their churches into museum pieces and their palaces into art galleries. The profit motive for action is being bred out of the new generation and a more creative view of work inculcated. Class distinction is discouraged and we actually saw a play making fun of "social climbers." The arrogant Deputy with ambitious wife and betrousered cigarette-smoking, jazz-mad daughter are portrayed, and, of course, go the slippery slope to perdition, and consume humble pie in the good society.

It was interesting to know that the recalcitrance of human nature still presents problems similar to our own. The difference is that the materialists are convinced that they can alter the nature of man. We are not so sure. We muddle around in search of the world famous "English compromise" which will permit us to be free to remain as we are yet at the same time magically change the society that our natures have collectively produced.

Regarding the obsolescence of opposition there must be a growing realisation that both here and in the USA the organisation of powerful vested interests against each other—and in our case Capital and Ownership against Labour—is not democracy and hardly effective against the new forms of tyranny and conscription that State control and bureaucracy and industrialisation are producing here. Magna Charta was useless in Cromwell's day and similarly Parliamentarianism has today to give way to a wider sense of community and co-operation which I find best expressed in the One Party System as it is so intelligently worked out in the Soviet Union.

Your final remarks about the supposed lack of discussion, the putting to death of the opposition, and forced labour, is—and I am deliberately provocative here—all just typical Christian Pacifist cant and a profound disservice to the cause of world pacifism. There's bags of discussion and self-criticism in the Soviet Union and, of course, they have their own ways of dealing with traitors. In this last respect they are just as old fashioned as the gallant Christian soldiers of the West.

We comment . . .

Our contributor is doing the pacifist movement a service in setting out thus challengingly the questions that have presented themselves to him as a result of his visit to Russia. We hope to be able to follow his article by comments from other contributors in which the points he raises will be discussed.

Although in certain of the problems he is posing William MacLellan is helping towards clarification, in other respects we believe he is taking refuge in a certain obscurantism which is not the less equivocal for being accompanied by some violence of expression.

□ ON PAGE FIVE

UNEDITED OPINIONS *

PACIFISM admits of more than one definition, but most pacifists appear strongly—one might almost say violently—opposed to dictatorial government, and superficially such an attitude seems justified, but it is doubtful whether the question has received adequate consideration.

To uphold the human dignity of the individual and to abhor the vision of a bully roughly overriding personal rights in pursuit of his own interests or whims is of course proper, but such a vision is visionary, and dictatorship does not necessarily involve any of the horrors that are frequently associated with it in the minds of many.

The dictionary defines a dictator as "a ruler whose word is law" and there is no inherent justification for supposing that law produced by a parliamentary majority must be superior to that of an individual; probably legal provisions made by Socrates would have been more desirable than those of an Athenian assembly, and the verdict of a civil judge may be preferable to that of a military tribunal.

All government implies enforceable power, and power demands obedience or exacts penalties.

Power

Again and again we are told "All power corrupts"—a statement attributed to Acton, although he really wrote "Power tends to corrupt"—but the corrupting influence of power is determined by the character of the individuals who wield it.

To cite the Founder of Christianity—"All power is given to Me"—would hardly be fair in this connection, but many human beings have held elevated positions without being corrupted. Various popes have exercised wide powers and remained uncorrupted, and it is a commonplace for the heads of religious orders to be conspicuous for humility. In the political sphere today Portugal appears a land where the government is one of the least objectionable, although one man, Salazar, controls affairs—doubtless the fact that he did not seek power is relevant.

If all power corrupts, then if power is taken from an aristocratic clique or dictator and passed to a parliament, that parliament must itself become corrupted. Parliamentary government is based upon the idea of majority rule, but although minorities are not always in the right, history suggests that they are more likely to be so than the crowd.

Why should it be imagined that if 51 individuals out of 100 favour a particular parliamentary candidate such judgment is superior to that of the 49?

And is it essential to good government that there should be frequent opportunities for people to mark a voting paper which may (or may not) result in getting into

parliament an individual who perhaps misrepresents them less than an alternative candidate at least on some issues, an individual who if returned to parliament will have practically no power unless reaching Cabinet rank?

It may well be that the expense and turmoil of elections could be bettered by cultivating a psychology of content with any government tolerably satisfactory; one of the worst features of the political system of USA is that elections are always in progress or just round the corner.

Actually, owing to the fact that not all individuals possess a vote, that many who could vote do not and that several candidates may stand, the members of a parliament are

49 PER CENT OR 51?

By John Nibb

generally elected by minority votes, but it is still called democracy although that word is supposed to indicate the rule of the crowd, of the majority.

Is "Russia" democratic? We lack the necessary information to be sure on that issue, but if a majority of the people there really approve of the regime—which is quite possible—then the supreme Soviet is correct in styling itself democratic.

The notion that democracy implies freedom is fanciful; no young man who lives among the "free nations" of which we hear so much is free from the disgusting slavery of conscription, and if he can escape both the army net and the tribunals, he needs to be clever indeed; and it seems that the demos would readily barter personal liberties for the benefits of a Welfare State.

Neither dictatorship nor parliamentary government permits plans for its violent overthrow, but under either form of control there may be allowed a wide range of criticism.

The "divine right of kings" certainly needed a challenge or re-interpretation, but to replace it with *Vox populi vox Dei* was no improvement. The excesses of revolutionary governments have been at least as excessive as those of autocratic regimes.

Assuredly then it is wise to cultivate an open mind on the various forms of rule and look rather to the character of the administrators and their aims; Alexander Pope's couplet deserves permanent remembrance:

"For forms of government let fools contest, that which is best administered is best."

It is generally thought that dictatorship means loss of individual freedom, but it

could be used for precisely the purpose of restoring personal rights.

What parliamentary government is likely adequately to tackle problems the correct solution of which would be so unpopular as to lose mass votes—e.g. the killing and maiming on public roads, or upheavals due to industrial organisation? An authoritarian government however, not dependent upon ballot boxes, could act without undue regard to vested interests or mob votes.

Although the crowd never originates anything, it can be a force for good or evil under the guidance of the few; whether the question is a public protest against some injustice or the lynching of a negro or the launching of a war, it is always leaders who start the campaign, and then the crowd joins in.

Fidelity can be and often is a mark of the individual, but fickleness seems characteristic of the multitude. The yell of the mob can vary from "Hosannah" to "Crucify Him" in a very brief space of time. Popularity is apt to be ephemeral and the idols of the people are very insecure.

Nationalism

Pacifists believe that the ordinary human being genuinely desires peace, and if an opinion poll were taken of individuals, undoubtedly a verdict for peace would be recorded, but mass psychology differs from individual, and the propaganda of the daily newspapers, of the radio, of platform oratory when a crisis occurs produces a verdict of the mass, not of isolated persons. Hence it comes about—as Mark Twain reminds us—that the peace party always succumbs to its opponents; both academically and historically it can be demonstrated that democracy has no necessary affinity to peace.

Reference has been made above to the oft-quoted phrase of Acton respecting power; unfortunately his wise words on a more vital subject are seldom repeated. Today various observers looking at the havoc wrought in Europe by nationalism and at the threat by its propaganda in the Middle East and Far East, have perceived that the cult of "the nation" is incompatible with a peaceful civilization, but nearly a century ago Acton foresaw the development that has since occurred and wrote (in 1862) of nationalism that "its course will be marked with material as well as moral ruin, in order that a new invention may prevail over the works of God and the interest of mankind."

That utterance justifies the inclusion of Acton among genuine prophets.

*We shall include from time to time on this page and under this heading articles which, although they do not follow the normal lines of pacifist thought, raise issues that pacifists should confront.

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL MEETING

The H-bomb, racial discrimination, world poverty — Pacifism alone holds the answer

The following is part of a talk given by STUART MORRIS, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union at the Dick Sheppard Anniversary Meeting in London on October 30.

It was delivered after the showing of three films embodying short addresses by Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury and Stuart Morris made in the 1930's.

The Peace Pledge Union was founded in 1934, the year in which Canon H. R. L. Sheppard sent a letter to the Press inviting men to sign a pledge that they would "renounce war and never support or sanction another." Since that time over 100,000 have signed, and each year sees an increase in the number who have done so.

MY memory goes back to this very night 17 years ago. I had arrived at the cinema in Winslow for one of our big meetings to find waiting for me the Inspector of the local police, who had come in response to a message from London to tell me the news of Dick's death.

We had planned to show the films you have just seen, and finally decided to let the programme go through as arranged and at the end tell the audience the sad news.

That decision was instinctive and symbolic, for behind all that crushing sense of loss and bewilderment one thing was never in doubt. The Peace Pledge Union would carry on and become his living memorial.

As we look back we certainly have no ground for complacency, even if we have good reason to feel encouraged. We have failed often and badly, and perhaps not least in those ways against which the example of Dick would have warned us—in our personal relationships. Whenever we forget that we are always dealing with persons and fail to do so in the way which protects their human rights and dignity, we fail, however valid our policy may be.

We have failed, too, in a sense of awareness. It was not possible that the PPU could inherit Dick Sheppard's rare gift of knowing just what to do and say and when to do and say it, that gift to which the pledge itself bears witness. But we have tended to react to situations rather than take the initiative; to follow within a situation which we allow others to make, rather than lead within a situation of our own making. But at least we have never wanted to go back on anything which we learnt from Dick.

What struck me as I listened to the films

was their complete relevance today after 17 years.

Here is the strength of pacifism.

Circumstances may alter cases and expediency may change policies, but the truth remains basic, although we can learn to appreciate more and more of its content.

Those who are giving expression to a principle do not have continually to change their ground and are not easily the dupes of propaganda. Because we have renounced war once and for all, the cause, the shape, the size of it make no difference.

Even the advent of the H-bomb, shattering as it is to everything else and demanding a revision of political and military estimates, has no disturbing effect upon the pledge.

Before there was an H-bomb we had dealt with it, for we had renounced war. Because we seek to arm ourselves only with weapons which cannot be outdated and which no one can take away from us, what was true when Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury spoke remains true today.

That does not mean that we can stand still, as though the PPU could live on their reputation and remain as they left it, or as though the last word was with them. Though we do not want to go back on anything they have taught us, we must always be pressing forward, enlarging the effectiveness of the minority, extending the sphere of our influence and increasingly commending pacifism to others.

The PPU embraces two components—those who find in the Pledge the expression of a conviction which conscience will not allow to be stifled and who seek to appeal to the conscience of others: those who feel that taking the Pledge has placed on them the additional responsibility of appealing not only to the conscience of others but to their political and economic sense in terms of a programme of the changes necessary if the world is to know the reality of peace.

The one is complementary to the other and both are necessary in a progressive fellowship like ours.

It is indeed the extension of what happened when Dick Sheppard sent his letter to the Press. He did not intend to create a new organisation. He had no programme. But the very necessity of accepting responsibility for what he had created and of keeping faith made it inevitable that he should recognise that he had unwittingly started a movement.

The basic fact about the PPU is that it is a movement of conscience. It has all the strength, the immutability, the indestructible virtue of conscience. When men's hearts are distracted by fear and their minds distorted by propaganda, when it may be impossible to appeal to their emotion or convince them by the logic of our case, it is through the challenge to their conscience that they may be won and their co-operation secured.

The H-bomb, racial discrimination, world poverty are creating a terrible dilemma for those who feel the necessity of doing what is right and defending what is true, and yet find their conscience revolted by the condition of millions of their fellowmen and by the weapons of mass destruction. To that dilemma pacifism alone holds the answer.

But when all is said and done, as war begins in the hearts and minds of men, so it is that the foundations of peace have to be laid in both the hearts and minds of men. And this at least is some comfort, though men may turn a deaf ear to our wisdom, though they may pass from hostility through suspicion to sympathy and yet hesitate about taking the crucial decision, there is the sphere in which we and we alone are responsible, and we have recognised that in taking the Pledge. We have begun the process of unilateral disarmament.

Whatever others may do or say, we continue to live in that spirit and to express it in all our relationships. This we do because in conscience we can do no other. But to that must be added: this we will do because we can do it still better.

Alfred Noyes in his Hymn of Thanksgiving has summed it up:

There's but one gift that all our dead desire,
One gift which we can give, and that's a dream.

Unless we too can burn with that same fire
Of sacrifice, die to the things that seem.
Die to the little hatreds, die to greed,
Die to the old ignoble selves we knew,
Die to the base contempt of sect and creed,
And rise again, like them, with souls as true.
Nay, since they died before their task was finished,

Attempt new heights, bring even their dreams to birth.

Build us a better world, O not diminished
By one true splendour that they planned on earth.

And that's not done by sword nor tongue nor pen.

There's but one way—God make us better men.

Mau Mau

THANK you for giving prominence to the letter of Mr. R. Leakey describing the life amongst the Mau Mau, and brutal death at their hands, of his father and step-mother.

Gray Leakey freely chose to live unarmed amongst the Mau Mau, and, from first to last, paid the price of the sins of his white countrymen towards their black brothers, when they brutally dragged them into slavery and sowed the seed of war in their midst.

When England has become a Christian country the name of Gray Leakey will rank high in her midst. He has bravely shown us that we pacifists must be as ready to die for peace as the non-pacifists for war. The seed of peace which he sowed in "that of God in the hearts" of Mau Mau must bring forth a hundredfold in the world of Him who died for our sins on Calvary.

WINIFRED GREENFIELD.

16a Hillside Gardens, N.6.

I AM very sorry for Mr. Robert D. Leakey in the loss of his parents in the tragic war which is going on in Kenya. But I am afraid he has got many things out of perspective.

(a) Press reports made it clear that Mr. Gray Leakey had guns and other instruments of war in a room upstairs at the time he was attacked. He was no pacifist.

(b) A Government communiqué suggested that Gray Leakey may have been buried alive as a sacrifice to Kenya Gods. There was no proof that this happened.

(c) Most of the Europeans and Africans killed by Mau Mau are known anti-Mau Mau. This includes some "white Kikuyus."

(d) Kenya is a part of Africa, and its legitimate owners are therefore Africans. It is not an historical fact that the country was a wilderness, nor is it true that its inhabitants were "savages" or "near savages" when the British took it over at the turn of the century.

(e) Mass concentration camps, killings and executions of Africans by the British in Kenya have taken a far heavier toll of lives than has Mau Mau. But Mau Mau is spreading and not lessening.

I am convinced that violence begets violence; and it will never solve Kenya's problems. A round-table talk between the British and the imprisoned leaders of both Mau Mau and the Kenya African Union (they are two separate organisations!) is the only possible hope. For such a talk to succeed a considerable concession of land to the Kikuyu will be a pre-requisite. OLUMBE BASSIR.

Beverly, Yorks.

PACIFISTS will do well to ponder Mr. R. D. Leakey's letter in reply to Mr. Paul Clarke.

While it is perfectly true that we must understand the tribal and nationalist aspirations of the Kikuyu before we can solve the Mau Mau problem, no nationalist aspirations can extenuate in the slightest degree such horrible deeds as hacking people to death and burying them alive, irrespective of age, sex or colour, armed or unarmed. Many of the victims are the murderer's own kith and kin or whites who have spent a lifetime among them and are in full sympathy with their point of view.

Until a wiser and longer term policy bears fruit (and that will take time) some immediate and drastic measures are necessary to check this devilry, if it is not to spread. I am not suggesting panic measures or that the innocent or intimidated should be punished as an example, but justice swift and certain should be meted out to the criminals who are caught redhanded.

H. T. HERNE.

55 Fitzharris Ave.,

Bournemouth.

We shall comment on Mr. Leakey's letter next week. Ed.

LETTERS

The bitter bit

WOULD not your "Flashback" (PN June 25) be even more revealing if it were completed by the fact that, at the Disarmament Conference of 1932, the camouflaged Tory Government with Ramsay MacDonald as a figure-head sabotaged the proposed abolition of all bombing aircraft by categorically refusing to consider it—on the ground that bombing from aircraft was a cheap and easy method of "keeping order" on "our" North West frontier of India . . .

Who is "keeping order" there now with no great jeopardy to legitimate "British interests"?

Similarly with the submarine—but vice-versa. Britain, after the narrow shave from submarine warfare of 1914-1918 (repeated with increased intensity and horror in 1939-1945) pressed naturally (but in vain) for the abolition of the submarine as an instrument of warfare, just as now the other fellow has got it, she is beginning to show interest in the abolition of the H-bomb.

SOUTH AFRICAN READER.

(Name and address supplied.)

Man-made barriers

ALTHOUGH by birth a Welshman, I cannot support Plaid Cymru precisely because of its nationalism. I am proud of Wales which has produced so many staunch pacifists. But nationalism is one cause of wars. Christians fight Christians in support of nationalism. The task of this generation is to outstretch the hand of our common humanity over the man-made barriers of nationalism.

LLEWELYN LLOYD.

25 Derwent Avenue,

Prescot, Lancs.

The Market Place

WHY always this assumption that because unemployment, low wages and harsh conditions prevail where men exchange their goods with each other, one is the cause of the other? Has it not occurred to Mr. Maddever (November 5) that something may interfere with the exchange of goods.

Every year we distribute hundreds and millions in rates, taxes and death duties, not to adjust any fault that is due to the market, but to adjust the fault of state monopolies and private monopolies which interfere with, and operate through the market, preventing some from getting the proper value in exchange, and giving others more value in exchange for what they contribute.

The fundamental truth that many socialists have yet to learn is that monopoly is not a power that grows out of the natural functions of exchange, but a power that is inflicted upon it. Exchange, free from monopoly and restrictions, can harm no one, and those with the lowest ability should be able to make a living far in advance of what they are allowed to do today.

RONALD R. BLUNDELL.

6 Park Rd.,

Hornsey, N.8.

Vegetarianism and non-violence

PETER SLADE (October 15) did well to point out the inconsistency of Oliver Caldecott's allusion to pacifists who oppose meat-eating.

A carnivorous pacifist is an anomaly if his conscientious objection springs from the desire to obey that rule which, as Tolstoy reminded us, was written on the human heart long before it was proclaimed from Sinai: "Thou shalt

not kill." For in that case the sight of a slaughter house where red-handed butchers, condemned by public demand to a life of killing, wade ankle deep in the blood of slaughtered, sentient creatures, must surely seem as distasteful as the sight of a battlefield; and yet this is the necessary prelude to any meat-eating.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn,

East Beach, Selsey.

(Many other letters have been received on this subject.)

POINTS FROM OTHER LETTERS

It is not possible surely to departmentalise life. If one is wholly given to an appreciation of and caring for the individual life in every human being it seems that sooner or later that spirit will find itself extended out to all living things, as a natural concomitant.

This may lead to complete veganism, to a repulsion against the use of animals merely as food-producing machines regardless of their natural lives (e.g. castration, mass slaughter, battery system for hens) or merely to a wish that no animal life should be taken recklessly. —Bryan Reed, "Fleuton," 86 Three Bridges Rd., Crawley.

By the end of the war in Korea, people everywhere had become concerned with the sufferings of the Koreans.

I was recently able to visit the North, the part with which Britain has no contact. Work, grief's great panacea, has produced much in ten months. The green of growing food is everywhere—rice and maize in the fields, lettuce, cucumbers and melons amongst the mounds of rubble and the temporary dwellings. Buildings are rising at a surprising speed, organisation is providing a place in school for every child this month.

In a land where hardly a building is fit for repair, and most are rubble, to build a

University, outstanding on a hill, shows a real faith.

"Help us to keep the peace" was said many times. The principal of Pyongyang University wished that the students of Britain could hear that his students had not wished to fight them; —Bess Marsh, Lufkins, Dedham, Colchester.

I am so glad that through Peace News I can keep in contact with England and London because the time I have spent there has meant very much to me. Your articles about the problems of German rearmament have been a moral support during the last weeks. —Hannelore Strassmann, Stadt Krankenaustett, Beurhausstr 40. Dortmund, Germany.

COMMENT

From page four

When he—being, as he says, deliberately provocative—accuses us of cant, and of performing "a profound disservice to the cause of world pacifism" this seems to be merely a method of evading certain very practical issues, with which, because of our association with world pacifism (best expressed for us in the War Resisters' International) we feel some concern.

We can produce Peace News in Britain, and we can produce a small edition for circulation in the USA. We can, and do, criticise in its pages the British and US Governments' approach to foreign policy.

Unless we are very much mistaken we could do nothing like this in Russia. We raised this point in our comments on our contributor's earlier article. Apart from the expression of contempt in his present article that we can relate to it seems to be the remark that "they have their own ways of dealing with traitors." We have doubtless a certain bias in this matter, but this comment hardly seems to us to be adequate.

TRENDS

NOW that a smiling wooing of India is the Moscow line, Russian diplomats in New Delhi are embarrassed by old hard words about Indian leaders.

Anti-Communist Indians have been exhuming the Kremlin's previous judgements—to the annoyance of both the Russians and Mr. Nehru, who is anxious to let bygones be bygones.

The current "Great Soviet Encyclopædia," for example, vulgarly insults Gandhi, revered by almost all Indians, including some Communists. To quote it:

"... reactionary hailing from the Banya caste which engaged in trade and usury . . . An active helper of British imperialism who betrayed the people . . . An exploiter of religious differences and Hindu dogma for class interests. . . . He aped the ascetics . . ."

Taxed by this a Soviet diplomat seriously assured his Indian questioner: "Ah, very unfortunate. But it will be rewritten for the next edition."

—DAILY TELEGRAPH, October 26, 1954.

This competition in building up total destructive power is sheer waste of mankind's resources, paid for at the expense of living standards on both sides.

Bomb-inventing men should not lack the

intelligence to invent an acceptable agreement about armaments that would get the nations off death's treadmill.

Both sides are victims of the arms race, and that is what should be remembered when they approach discussion of it. The point should be as clear in Moscow as it is here.

—DAILY HERALD, October 29, 1954.

There is no reason why "building socialism" requires the kind of secret police frame-ups admitted in Russia, Hungary and now Poland since the death of Stalin, nor why accused persons should not have the same right of public trial, legal counsel and appeal that exists in the West.

One item that would grace Moscow's agenda in improving relations would be to clear the name of Anna Louise Strong, so rudely branded a spy and expelled without a hearing of any kind.

—I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, November 1, 1954.

On the Afro-Asian conference, Mr. Nehru said it was unlikely that any invitation would be extended to the South African Government or that such invitation would be accepted. The proposed conference was Afro-Asian, not European-Africa.

—INDIA NEWS, October 30, 1954

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacificist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.10: 8 p.m.; Co-op Hall, 447 Harrow Rd. (Nr. Third Ave.). Stan Birkett, "Socialism and the H-bomb." ILP.

Friday, November 19
BOW (East London): 7.45 p.m.; Childrens Ho., Eagle Rd., E.3. Business mtg. followed by discussion on "Orchard Lea Papers." PPU.

GLASGOW, 1: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St. Group Mtg. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St., Discussion of Peace News. Central London PPU.

Saturday, November 20
HARROW: 2.30 p.m.; Havelock Pl., St. Ann's Rd. Poster parade, H-bomb leaflet distribution. Helpers invited. For.

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. AGM; Bernard Rushton, "PPU Policy." Area Mtg. PPU.

Sunday, November 21
LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. St.) Pacificist Universalist Service. Rev. C. P. Bradley, "The Earth People." PPU Religion Commission.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacificist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Saturday-Sunday, November 20-21
ST. IVES: 2 p.m.; Saturday to Sunday evening; Trelohan Manor. Weekend conf. Edith Adam and Tom Wardle, "Co-existence or Chaos?" Conf. Sec. Frank Vibert, 14 Alexandra Place, Tel. St. Ives 144. Devon and Cornwall Area, PPU.

Tuesday, November 23
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bliz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, November 24
LONDON, N.W.11: 3 p.m.-6.30 p.m.; at the home of Mrs Hawkins, 30 Hampstead Way, Bring and Buy Sale to help Peace News.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

Thursday, November 25
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group discussion. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacificist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Friday, November 26
CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m.; Mill Lane Lecture Rooms, Kathleen Lonsdale: "Jesus Christ and Modern War." Public Mtg. For.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St., Favourite readings. Central London PPU.

9 PEACE NEWS FOR 2s. 6d.

A SPECIAL OFFER FOR NEW READERS

For 2s. 6d. the next 9 weekly issues of PEACE NEWS are posted to you.

Please send PEACE NEWS for.....

to the name and address below.

I enclose £.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

STANDARD RATES:

1 year £1 1s. 0d. 24 weeks 10s. Twelve weeks 5s. or order from your newsagent

PEACE NEWS,
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS
CHINA AND THE USA. H. W. Franklin (Member of Labour Party delegation to China). Mon. Nov. 15. 6 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd., N.W.1. National Peace Council discussion meeting. Adm. free.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED
HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. Canonbury 1340. I. and H. Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Park, N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shaylor for board or bed and breakfast.

FRINTON-ON-SEA, fast trains from Liverpool St. Lovely peaceful house overlooking sea. First-class vegetarian food. Lilian and Aldo Vezza, Sandy Point Esplanade. Tel: 691.

YOUNG COUPLE waiting to marry offer £50 fittings for unfurnished flat in S.W. or N.I. London area. Box 587.

PERSONAL
AUBREY BROCKLEHURST, qualified watchmaker, offers wide selection of new watches with genuine guarantees. Enquiries welcomed: articles sent on appro. All types of watch, clock, and jewellery repairs. Old gold and silver purchased. 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. Tel: EUSTON 5501.

INTRODUCTIONS, FRIENDSHIP, or marriage: home and overseas. V.C.C. 34 Honeywell Rd., London, S.W.11.

"ELIJAH COMING Before Christ," wonderful book free. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 13. Rochester 19, N.Y.

REGINALD BAILEY, Naturopath and psychiatrist, 134 Hoppers Rd., N.21. Palmers Green '9868. By. app.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE invited for the organisation of an International Choir. Apply Paul Steinitz, 244 Mytchett Rd., Mytchett, Aldershot.

EDUCATION
SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit). 58. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

LITERATURE
FOR YOUR MEETING. Don't forget that Housemans can supply all your literature requirements and quantities of Peace News. Send a postcard to Housemans - Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED
FIRST-CLASS duplicating/typing. Mabel Eyles Secretarial Service, 395 Hornsey Rd., N.19. ARC 1765. Ext 1.

SITUATIONS VACANT
COMFORTABLE HOME and small salary offered, in return for help with elderly (not invalid) gentleman. Temporary or permanent. 20 mins. by train from Victoria. 19 Highfield Rd., Purley, Surrey.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (STAmford Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

FOR SALE
BOOKS BOUGHT, Large quantities collected, anywhere. Peter Eaton (bookseller), Ltd., 154 Notting Hill Gate, London, W.11.

EXTENSION LADDERS, best material. All rungs wired. Example: One double 14 rungs extension, 6 gns. Carr. pd. Arthur Roberts, 12 Clare Rd., Cardiff.

SMALL GANS business, with accommodation suit two active ladies, must be vegetarians, teetotallers. No big profits, chance much propaganda amongst children. Beauty spot, wonderful sunshine. £1,600 sterling, rent £3 week, part house let. Present owners (English) remaining. Good references. Artist's cafe, 55 Canning Highway, East Fremantle, Western Australia.

Peace News in Canada and the USA
AIR EXPRESS EDITION
to US and all parts of America, from Peace News US Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. (mailed on publication day).

\$4 year. \$2 six months.
New readers: 3 months trial, \$1.

Letter from the USA

LITTLE attention has been devoted by commentators, pacifist and otherwise, to the fact that in the treaty for setting up the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) formal provision is made for the first time for intervention by the US, or some other country, in the internal affairs of another nation "for the purpose of thwarting Communist attempts at subversion and internal revolution."

I am not one to argue that Communist activities in this field do not constitute a problem. But as the policy of meeting violence with violence, atom bombs with atom bombs, raises questions, so does the policy of meeting intervention with intervention. There is furthermore, the interesting speculation as to how the new policy of having the USA for example, counter Communist manoeuvres within Thailand or Pakistan is to be implemented.

Here the Central Intelligence Agency headed by Allen W. Dulles, brother of John Foster, is undoubtedly the main reliance of US planners. And it is a fair inference that there is a connection between the recent establishment of SEATO and the publication of a series of three articles on the CIA in the Saturday Evening Post.

No feeling of shame

The first of these articles has just appeared, and actually makes the connection just mentioned in a reference to the Reds "infiltrating, softening up and swallowing" a big part of Indo-China. I am convinced that the Administration actually inspires articles of this kind focussing attention on the CIA and habituating people to an atmosphere in which devilry is constantly being perpetrated by both sides. The article all but says that it is reporting on behalf of the National Security Council and not just retailing a titbit of gossip from the capital's cocktail-party circuit.

Nor is any attempt made to conceal the fact that the CIA does not confine itself to obtaining information by espionage but engages in activities which if engaged in by another nation, not our ally, would be characterised as provocation, murder and counter-revolution.

The Post article says that Ilya Ehrenburg, the well known Kremlin propagandist, paid Allen Dulles a very high compliment by saying that if Dulles were by accident to get into heaven, "he would begin to blow up the clouds, mine the stars and slaughter the angels." Then, so far from suggesting that this may slander Dulles and the nation itself, the article carefully explains that Dulles can find authority for terrestrial activities of the kind indicated in Public Law 110, passed in June 1949, "to make the CIA a more effective weapon to protect free nations from subversion." Dulles need not voucher his expenditures. However, for "white" CIA appropriations he files routine Federal expense accounts but for secret or "black" expenditures he just reports on a lump-sum basis, so much for the Far East and so on.

Apparently with no feeling of shame on the part of the authors and editors, the article gives a startling illustration of how far we have travelled on the road of using satanic means to overcome Satan. It tells of how the late Henry L. Stimson disbanded the so-called "Black Chamber" of State Department experts after World War I because "gentlemen don't read other people's mail." The same Stimson, a devout churchman like the two Dulleses, in 1945 as Secretary of War, wrote one of the key memos justifying the use of the A-bomb which largely determined Truman's fateful decision.

What a revelation of our condition that it should now seem very funny that a statesman should have scruples about reading other

people's mail. Yet how inevitable when leading theologians themselves teach that it is naive, if not "irresponsible," to think that the standards of a gentleman or a Christian have any direct relevance in international politics.

I SAT in one of the chambers in the Federal Building here in New York a few days ago and heard Judge Walsh pronounce sentence on thirteen leaders of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party who had been convicted by a jury of conspiracy to overthrow the US government by force and violence.

The maximum penalty provided in the law under which they were tried is six years and this is what Judge Walsh gave each defendant after saying:

"I am deeply convinced that we have to deal with a group of dedicated people. Unfortunately they seek to achieve their purposes by illegal means. They are so dedicated that they are probably beyond the reach of this court."

Conrad Lynn, one of our devoted young radical lawyers, represented most of the defendants. So far it has been impossible to raise even enough to reimburse him for actual expenses incurred during the months he has worked on the case.

It is not hard to understand that this is not a case which calls forth enthusiastic support. Even apart from a general pacifist verdict against violence, it is hard to regard the shooting which occurred in Congress last March as anything but political madness.

Liberals in this country generally hold that the US treatment of Puerto Rico is comparatively enlightened and that the Munoz Marin administration in Puerto Rico is a very good one.

They're a target

I happen to think that there is some ground for questioning these assumptions, if only because Puerto Rico has been made into a US military base and its people, who are also conscripted into the US Army without having a single voting representative in the US Congress, will almost certainly be subjected to a terrific bombardment if war comes. But surely, even for those who think that the judgment of condemnation to be pronounced on Nationalist Party leaders should be of maximum severity and the verdict of approval on the Puerto Rican regime unconditional, there are still questions to be answered, such as:

Are these people, then, not entitled to representation so that they may have a fair trial?

Should not one show concern for them and their families who are certainly passing through painful ordeals?

Is there no danger that, in the absence of adequate counsel, civil liberties will be further jeopardized?

Is an attorney like Conrad Lynn, who did "stick his neck out" by being willing to identify himself as counsel with this unpopular case, to be penalised and made to pay out of his own pocket for the "privilege" of rendering professional legal service?

American readers who do feel a concern may send contributions either to me personally or to the treasurer of the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans, Julius Eichel, Rm. 201, 271 West 125th Street, New York City 27.

H-BOMB IS MAKING US THINK LIKE PACIFISTS

From a Correspondent
FURTHER evidence that the subject of peace and war is much in the mind of the man-in-the-street comes from York where in two weeks two resolutions calling for the immediate banning of hydrogen and atomic weapons have been passed at public meetings.

At the most recent meeting at New Earswick one speaker, Mr. J. F. Blitze, pointed out that although he was not a pacifist, hydrogen bombs and atom bombs were apt to convert people to that way of thinking. He described the bombs as "most indiscriminate and immoral weapons" and declared that moral arguments against the bombs did not justify the dropping of them even in retaliation.

Another speaker, John Kay, Quaker schoolmaster, stated that Britain, if world agreement on disarmament could not be reached, ought to lead the way towards that goal as well as denouncing the production of the bombs.

He said: "If we get rid of the hydrogen bomb we shall have to get rid of war altogether. That is why I welcome the hydrogen bomb, because it at last presents clear thinking people with the situation, and the bomb is so vile and so wrong that they will have to say no."

At the end of the meeting the resolution opposing the further manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs and supporting the National Peace Council's statement published in Peace News on Oct. 29 was proposed and adopted almost unanimously.

The meeting was organised by the York Peace Fellowship.

THE CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

I am profoundly convinced that we must reject war for ethical reasons—because it makes us guilty of a crime against humanity—Dr. Schweitzer. Nobel Peace Prize Address, Sunday Times, November 7, 1954.

Dr. Schweitzer allows for the statesman's perplexities when he says 'and we must concede to each the right to defend his country with the terrible weapons which are now at his disposal'. The problem is not, then, one of physical disarmament... but of making the desire for peace effective... There is one supreme obstacle—the division of the world created by the Communist ethic—Sunday Times, Nov. 7, 1954.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER is a man of compassion, a man whose humanitarian instincts have risen far above personal desire and personal comfort; instincts which have sustained him in the emptiness of isolation, and in his selfless courageous struggle against death and disease.

His address in acknowledgement of the Nobel Prize for Peace has been awaited with eagerness by all peace lovers, and there can be no question that his condemnation of war as the world's supreme evil comes as high encouragement and inspiration to mankind in this war-shackled age.

I quarrel, however, with his statement that "during the last two wars we were guilty of crimes against humanity which now make us shudder" for though some of us shudder, it is all too apparent that the majority do nothing of the kind; on the contrary, the atom bomb, and other weapons infinitely more destructive and barbarous, are constantly justified, and the shuddering is reserved for the crimes only of Mussolini and Hitler.

The comment of the Sunday Times, which, unlike many newspapers, does at least give a large part of the text of the address, shows only too clearly that in this particular, Schweitzer is mistaken, for that newspaper is concerned, not with shuddering, but with blaming.

And the tragedy is, that it is here, at this point, that Schweitzer falls below his own

fine testimony. For in spite of his high call to renunciation of war because, on ethical and spiritual grounds it is "a crime against humanity", he nevertheless allows that "we must concede to each the right to defend his country with the terrible weapons now at his disposal".

Yet, at the level he himself has set in his address, there surely can be no concession to the forces of evil. The Sunday Times, rather naively, picks upon that failure to sustain the heights, and uses it to accuse and blame the Communists for the whole of the tension in the world to-day, appearing indeed, to congratulate the winner of the Peace Prize on recognising the impossibility of "physical disarmament".

It does seem, at least upon the surface, that Schweitzer is in fact admitting this, for he goes on to say that while we await the sign of a changed outlook an attempt should be made to repair the wrongs inflicted in the last war, and adds, as a kind of palliative, that in so doing no iota of the power which each nation needs for its own defence need be sacrificed.

It may well be a long wait if we must await a sign of repentance from the leaders of either one or other of the two Power blocs. To repair the wrongs and remedy the injustices of the last war is an admirable and humanitarian idea, requiring, of course, the admission of the wrongs and the injustices, but the one great reparation finds no place in this address, and there appears to be no demand for it.

It is not possible to repair the damage of obliteration bombing and the atom bomb upon human hearts and human bodies; the only reparation is the repudiation now of the weapons which caused this ghastly suffering. And that means the repudiation of war.

It means that the peoples of the world should not in fact concede to each other the right to use, either in the name of defence or attack, the "weapons at their disposal". On the contrary, if these weapons are as Dr. Schweitzer declares, ethically and morally wrong, then there can be no pandering to the evil thing, no paltering with the devil's wares.

So long as weapons of war are conceded and excused on the grounds of the necessity for "defence" there will continue to be war. What is needed to raise mankind from the depth to which it has sunk in its seeking after power, is, not only repentance and reparation, but renunciation.

The human spirit could rise to this height. It is a tragedy that so great a humanitarian, so great a peacemaker, should have missed so great an opportunity.

Albert Schweitzer

Extra copies of this issue for free distribution are obtainable

2s 6d doz. post free

Pass a copy on to a friend

PEACE NEWS, 3, Blackstock Rd N.4

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

They're marking time in British Guiana Till the corporate mens is considered sana And the people know that it isn't cricket To vote for an anti-British ticket— What can you do, when, given a choice, They refuse to echo Their Master's Voice?

I seem to recall, when I was littler, This very same gag was worked by Hitler, Who never expressed the least objection To a Lyttelton-Lennox-Boyd election. He said: "You are all completely free " To vote as you like, if you vote for me."

With such good precedents, can you wonder If somebody steals such excellent thunder, Worthy of Guys like Fawkes, whose action Aimed to remove a Ruling Faction? L'etat, c'est moi; and since I'm right, The best dialectics are dynamite.

It must be galling to Eisenhower, Who'd like to do it, but hasn't the power: What would he give for the same authority To deal with a Democratic majority And to declare—like Lennox-Boyd— The Constitution nul and void?

Had the Early Boyd been his adviser Or Lyttelton (who was even wiser) Ike could have bunkered the Constitution By a simple, Democratic Solution— Just a Commission to decide That all his opponents be CERTIFIED . . .

Reginald Reynolds.

UN membership plan

FROM PAGE ONE

It was a sort of give and take proposal, through which 14 countries would be admitted, some from both sides.

These 14 would be Albania, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordan, Austria, Ceylon, Nepal and Libya. Several countries are opposed to such a method, and want to discuss each nation as a separate issue.

This Soviet scheme has just won support from a surprising quarter. Pakistan could by no reasoning be called the least bit friendly to the USSR, but its delegate, Viqar Ahmed Hamdani, has given the support of his government to the Russian plan.

Mr. Hamdani said that the plan seemed the quickest and easiest way out of the "paralysis" with which the UN was seized over the membership question. That argument is open to serious doubt, as subsequent discussion is likely to prove.

But if no real solution of the membership issue can be found, the American idea may get a hearing. Only, though, if it is more than just another glance down a one-way street.

AMY WILSON

When I was in Scarborough for this year's Labour Party Conference, pacifists there told me of the great work that had been done for the movement by the Scarborough Peace Pledge Union Secretary, Amy Wilson, and their regret at her illness.

Now news has come of the death of Mrs. Wilson, leaving a gap in the ranks of Scarborough pacifists which will be hard to fill.

HUGH BROCK.

The Mayor of East Ham, Councillor F. H. Howard, JP, is to present a bouquet to the 5,000th signatory to the National H-bomb Petition locally in a few weeks time. The ceremony will take place in St. Barnabas Vicarage, E.12. So far 4,350 local people have signed.

LONDON AREA, PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Change of date for area meeting

NOW — November 23, at 7.30 pm

Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

On the Agenda: Peace News and report of Secretaries Meeting

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

See you to-night?

St:ps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Trafalgar Square every Friday at 5.30 p.m.

CENTRAL LONDON PEACE NEWS STREET SELLING CAM AIGN

Pape:s and posters await your collection; all volunteers welcomed.

Book this date NOW!

Bring the family!

PEACE NEWS CHRISTMAS BAZAAR

3 p.m. Saturday, 27th November, at Kingsway Hall, W.C.2

URGENTLY NEEDED: Gifts of every kind for sale, especially fancy goods, preserves, fruit, toys, arts and crafts, books

Please send your contribution to:

PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4

Phone: STA 2262 for collection in London area.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

For the moral, political and social advancement of Indians in South Africa

Published Every Friday
Thirty Shillings Annually

APPLY

The Manager
Indian Opinion

P. Bag, Phoenix, Natal, S. Africa

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd., The Goodwin Press (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4.